

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 304943

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, AO, US, EG

SUBJECT: ANGOLA - RESPONSE TO FAHMY

REF: CAIRO 13013

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. YOU SHOULD SEEK AN EARLY MEETING WITH FAHMY TO PASS ON A REPLY TO HIS QUESTION CONCERNING EXACTLY WHAT THE U.S. HAS DONE IN ANGOLA. WHEN DISCUSSING THESE ACTIONS WITH FAHMY, YOU SHOULD AGAIN EMPHASIZE TO HIM OUR DETERMINATION TO RESIST THIS SOVIET INTERVENTION AND ENCOURAGE HIM TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS POLITICALLY IN THE OAU AND MILITARILY WITH ARMS FOR MOBUTU.

2. CHRONOLOGY OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT: WHILE SOVIET AND CUBAN SUPPORT OF MPLA GOES BACK MANY YEARS, THE FIRST IDENTIFIABLE SOVIET ARMS SHIPMENTS TO MPLA AFTER THE ALVOR AGREEMENTS WERE IN MARCH 1975. THEY ESCALATED
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MONTHLY AND ENABLED MPLA TO ASSERT MILITARY DOMINANCE

OVER FNLA AND UNITA BY JUNE-JULY. IN MID-JULY, WE
DECIDED TO PROVIDE FINANCIAL AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE

THROUGH ZAIRE TO ASSIST THE FNLA/UNITA FORCES TO
WITHSTAND THE MPLA ATTACKS. SOVIET SUPPORT CONTINUED
TO INCREASE AND OUR PIPELINE OF SUPPLIES THROUGH
ZAIRE DEVELOPED PROBLEMS. WE CONSEQUENTLY OPTED IN
AUGUST TO INCREASE OUR SUPPORT AND TO CONVEY MUCH OF
IT DIRECTLY TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. IN LATE
OCTOBER, THERE BEGAN MASSIVE SOVIET AND CUBAN INTER-
VENTION (BY AFRICAN STANDARDS) AND WE AGAIN STEPPED UP
OUR SUPPORT, BOTH IN QUALITY AND SOPHISTICATION OF
WEAPONS SUPPLIED. DESPITE THE SENATE VOTE, WE STILL
HAVE CONSIDERABLE FUNDS AVAILABLE AND ARE CONTINUING
OUR SUPPORT. WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO ASK CONGRESS TO
REVIEW ITS DECISION AND PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS IF THE
SOVIETS DO NOT PULL BACK.

3. DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES: THE OBJECTIVE OF OUR
ANGOLAN POLICY HAS BEEN TO COUNTER THIS SOVIET INVOLVE-
MENT IN A NEW AREA. BY NOVEMBER, WE HAD ACHIEVED
THE ESSENTIAL BATTLEFIELD CONDITIONS THAT WE SET AS OUR
MILITARY GOAL AND HAVE SINCE BEEN ENGAGED IN ACTIVE
DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE COSTS
OF INVOLVEMENT TO THE USSR IN ORDER TO FORCE IT TO
ACCEPT A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. IN ADDITION TO NUMEROUS
PUBLIC WARNINGS, THESE INITIATIVES HAVE INCLUDED:

US/SOVIET: TWO CONVERSATIONS WITH DOBRYNIN ON NOVEMBER 22
AND DECEMBER 9, EXPLAINING OUR POSITION TO THE SOVIETS
AND URGING THEM TO RECONSIDER THEIR POLICY.
WE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET ACTIONS ARE
NOT IN ACCORD WITH THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES SIGNED
BY NIXON AND BREZHNEV AND THAT THEIR INVOLVEMENT, IF
CONTINUED, COULD SET BACK THE PROGRESS OF DETENTE.
THE SOVIET REPLIES WERE EVASIVE BUT NOT ENTIRELY
CONCLUSIVE AND WE INTEND TO CONTINUE PRESSURING THEM IN
ANGOLA, OR ELSEWHERE, UNTIL WE ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVE.

US/AFRICAN: WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A NUMBER OF APPROACHES TO
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AFRICAN STATES IN GENERAL AND TO CERTAIN KEY LEADERS
TO EXPLAIN AND TO ENCOURAGE THEIR SUPPORT OF OUR BASIC
OBJECTIVE OF CONTAINING THE SOVIET EXPANSION. ON
NOVEMBER 6 AND DECEMBER 4 WE SENT MESSAGES TO ALL
AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WITH WHOM WE HAVE RELATIONS INFORMING
THEM OF OUR POSITION THAT MPLA SHOULD NOT BE RECOGNIZED
AS THE SOLE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA AND EXPRESSING OUR
WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN A SOLUTION WHICH ENDED OUT-

SIDE INTERVENTION. ON NOVEMBER 20 WE SENT A MESSAGE
TO OAU SECRETARY GENERAL ETEKI PROMISING AMERICAN SUPPORT

TO THE OAU'S CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS
WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF A COALITION
GOVERNMENT. IN LATE NOVEMBER, WE DISPATCHED OUR
ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS
TO KINSHASA WHERE HE MET WITH CHIEFS OF STATE FROM
ZAIRE, GABON, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC, SENEGAL AND
UGANDA AND SOUGHT TO PROMOTE AN AFRICAN (OAU)
SOLUTION TO THE ANGOLA PROBLEM. ON DECEMBER 25, THE
NEW ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS
WAS SENT ON A MISSION TO ZAIRE, GABON, CAMEROON,
IVORY COAST, AND SENEGAL TO REEMPHASIZE OUR COMMITMENT
TO STAND BY OUR FRIENDS IN JOINTLY RESISTING THE
ATTEMPT BY THE USSR TO IMPOSE A REGIME OF ITS CHOICE
IN ANGOLA.

US/CUBAN: CUBAN TROOPS HAVE PROVIDED THE HUMAN RESOURCES
TO ASSIST THE SOVIET EXPANSION. WE HAVE REACTED FORCE-
FULLY IN SEVERAL WAYS TO THE CUBAN INVOLVEMENT.
PRES. FORD PUBLICLY WARNED HAVANA OF HARMFUL REPERCUSSIONS
TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS IF THEY CONTINUED THEIR
INTERFERENCE. WE ACTED THROUGH THE OTHER AMERICAN
REPUBLICS TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE CUBAN ACTIVITIES AND
ENCOURAGED THESE STATES TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH AFRICAN
REGIMES AND TO EMPHASIZE THEIR MUTUAL INTEREST IN CURBING
CUBAN SUBVERSION. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE PERSUADED
BARBADOS AND TRINIDAD TO FORBID USE OF THEIR TERRITORY
FOR CUBAN MILITARY FLIGHTS TO ANGOLA. WE ARE ACTIVELY
SEEKING TO ENCOURAGE GUYANA TO DO THE SAME.

4. ECONOMIC: GULF OIL COMPANY AGREED TO CLOSE DOWN ITS
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OPERATION IN ANGOLA RATHER THAN PAY DOLS 120 MILLION
IN TAXES AND ROYALTIES TO MPLA. THE PAYMENT WAS DUE
JANUARY 1. WE HAVE REVOKED THE EXPORT LICENSE FOR TWO
BOEING 737 JETS PURCHASED BY THE ANGOLA AIRLINE.

5. FUTURE MILITARY PLANS: WE HAVE CONSIDERABLE SUMS
STILL AVAILABLE TO USE FOR OPERATIONS IN ANGOLA AND WE
PLAN TO USE THEM TO CONTINUE THE SUPPLY OF ARMS AND MATERI-
AL TO FNLA/UNITA THROUGH AT LEAST MAY. TO COUNTER THE TRUCK-
MOUNTED MULTIPLE 122 MM ROCKET LAUNCHERS THAT CUBANS
HAVE BEEN USING EFFECTIVELY, SEVERAL MISSILE FIRING
HELICOPTERS ARE ABOUT TO BE DEPLOYED.

6. DIPLOMATIC PLAN: THE UPCOMING OAU SUMMIT PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES TO CALL FOR END TO ALL FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. WE ARE CONTINUING TO EXPLAIN TO KEY AFRICAN LEADERS THE LIMITED GOAL THE U.S. IS PURSUING AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN ANY BALANCED OAU PEACE KEEPING EFFORT. WE ARE CONSIDERING SELECTED AREAS WHERE WE CAN EFFECTIVELY DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY HAVE TO PAY AN INCREASING PRICE FOR THEIR CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. ROBINSON

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